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BRUTALITY AND AVARICE TRIUMPHANT.

BY GENERAL RUSH C. HAWKINS.

WOULD it be unpatriotic or in ill adjustment with current facts to suggest that the motto in our national coat-of-arms should be removed, and in its place inserted, "Plundering Made Easy"? Our contribution to the world's history for the last thirty years would, I think, sustain the recommendation for such a change. From the beginning of the Rebellion to the present time insatiable greed, practically uncontrolled by law or by any decent show of regard for morality or rights of property, has swept over our land, a mighty, invisible power for evil. The self-respect of the community has been impaired or destroyed, and we have permitted the unscrupulous classes to give us the reputation throughout the civilized world of a nation of political tricksters and business sharpers.

Let us glance at some of the darker chapters of our recent record. In 1861 an army of dishonest contractors selected a struggling people for their victims. Their frauds were notorious and enormous, amounting to scores of millions. Few among them were arrested and none were punished.

As examples of the frauds perpetrated upon the army during the Rebellion, I will give an account of two which came within my own experience.

In the autumn of 1861 I received on the same day, at Hatteras Inlet, two invoices. One was for army shoes; for soles many had shavings-fillings concealed beneath a thin cover of the poorest quality of sole-leather. They were worthless—unequal to a single day's wear. The other invoice was for two hundred rifle-muskets: they were from a lot that had been condemned by a foreign government as being unfit for service. It was rumored at the time that their purchase was effected through the agency

of a rather high government official. Only sixty of these pieces were issued for use, and thirteen of these were disabled at the first discharge. My representations to the proper government officials, describing fully the nature of these swindles, produced no effect whatever; neither exposure, arrest, nor punishment followed. The probabilities are that individuals having political influence were engaged in each.

Possibly the most successful of all the swindles upon the people during the Civil War was the selling and chartering of worn-out vessels to the government. For the purpose of this paper it is only necessary to describe one transaction. In the winter of 1865 the government was asked to purchase two old hulks for use in the quartermaster's department. A commission of honest experts, consisting of a seaman, a shipbuilder, and a constructing engineer, was appointed. But such a commission was not wanted by the owner; and before it had time to inspect and report upon values he induced the government to appoint another, which in due time reported the hulks to be worth \$650,000; and the Quartermaster-General, by very high authority, was ordered to purchase them at that valuation. The payment was made when the Rebellion was near its end, when the government had many vessels for sale and little need for water transportation. Within four months after the purchase the two hulks were offered at public auction for sale, and \$35,000 was the best bid received. This swindle was opposed with great energy and warmth by the then Secretary of the Treasury, the Quartermaster-General, and the Third Auditor, but all to no purpose. The superior power invoked by the owner and his influential friends gave an absolute order to purchase, which could not be disobeyed.

The foregoing are only typical examples, and by no means represent the variety of gigantic frauds perpetrated by knaves upon a confiding and patriotic people whose sons were pouring out their life's blood for the preservation of their country. I have always believed that, owing to swindling contracts and incompetent and dishonest officials, the expense of putting down the Rebellion was fully one-third more than it ought to have been. To deliberately defraud a grief-stricken people engaged in such a struggle as we had in hand from 1861 to 1865, involving, as it did, such an unprecedented loss of life, was one of the greatest offences which could be committed, and a person engaged and assisting

in its commission reached, in my belief, the lowest depths of human depravity known to the calendar of criminal practices.

Next in the great series of schemes for plunder came the land-grant acts, bribed through Congress, and resulting in the gift to corrupt private corporations, having no claim upon the nation, of valuable public lands which amount, in the aggregate, to a territory larger than the whole of France. These lands were voted away in direct violation of moral right and an enlightened public policy, and the magnitude of these gifts is without precedent in the history of legislation. Only one of the railroads assisted was a national necessity, and that ought to have been built, owned, and managed by the government. All the other lines were constructed far in advance of the demand, and the profits of their construction have gone into the pockets of the rascals who promoted these schemes and carried them to successful consummation.

Our accommodating lawmakers supplemented their enormous land donation to the Pacific railroads with loans of government bonds amounting in the aggregate to sixty-five millions of dollars. The voting-away of public domain was bad enough, but the granting of those loans, pledging the credit of the whole people for their payment, for the use of business corporations, or, rather, as it turned out, for the benefit of a little cabal of promoters, was infinitely worse and possibly more corrupt.

Railroad-wrecking is another favorite American industry, which has enriched a set of individuals whose presence would adorn penal institutions. Their formula is very simple : Obtain voting power from enough stock to secure control of any railroad, the most or the least successful—it matters not which ; create a floating debt, decrease earnings, depreciate the value of property, cease paying interest, have a receiver appointed, foreclose and sell the whole franchise to ring purchasers, who reorganize in their own interests by creating a new bonded debt and issuing large amounts of stock. The bonds from the time of their issue pay interest, and dividends upon stock are sometimes paid within the first year after reorganization. This scheme usually deprives small holders of a material portion of their income, and, in its results generally, is among the most cruel of our peculiar rascalities. The railroad receiver is an American specialty, invented for a specific purpose, and unknown to any European country.

For many years land-stealing from the government has been among the popular and profitable occupations of a considerable number of our citizens. This particular specialty in dishonesty is not confined to class or condition. Rich and poor alike are adepts, and many of the representative men of exceptional influence in the West are now enjoying an edifying Christian repose based on the proceeds of their unlawful takings of the public domain.

Not many years ago the well-known "star-route thieves" were found out. If I remember correctly, about six millions was the amount involved in their special operations; the rascals were indicted and tried in Washington, and of course acquitted. One among their number was well known among the Republican faithful as being an adept in practical politics, who during a certain Presidential campaign had assisted in disbursing a very large sum of money among the corrupt voters of a Western State. For this and other political services a great dinner was given to him, at which the Vice-President-elect of the United States presided. This case must be regarded as one of the results of our "superior civilization." It has been often stated, and, so far as I know, not contradicted, that those "star-route" adepts were very successful in the practice of the arts which lead to the transferring of government lands to themselves, the transfers usually being made without apparent consideration passing to the grantor.

Another great and favorite industry is stealing standing timber from public lands. This is an abuse of fifty years' duration, and to-day wherever there are trees belonging to the people there can be found the timber-thief with axe in hand. During a certain administration of our navy a timber ring having headquarters in the State of Massachusetts carried on an enormous business in stealing timber from government lands in Florida, and selling it to the Navy Department for building wooden ships when there were none to be built; iron having then entirely superseded wood as a material for government ship-building.

The next item to appear in our list of peculiar national industries is that which has come to be known as "stock-watering." I have forgotten when the first great success in this particularly American specialty occurred, but I believe that New York, in respect to this new fraud, sustained, as usual, its bad eminence. In December, 1868, the directors of a certain great railway com-

pany passed, in substance, a resolution doubling the stock of their corporation. This act was in direct violation both of the corporate charter and of the general railroad law of the State, and in January, 1869, a powerful corps of railroad lobbyists was employed by the officials of that corporation to push through a corrupt Legislature the needed legislation to give life to a deliberate violation of the laws of the State.

From the date of this first colossal offence against public policy and honest commerce, the abuse of stock-watering has assumed gigantic proportions. According to the last "Poor's Manual," we had in operation on December 31, 1890, 161,396.64 miles of ordinary steam surface railroads, which cost, on paper, \$9,931,453,146. These are very startling figures, and it is perfectly safe to assert that two-fifths of that amount, viz., \$2,972,581,258, represents "water." The street railroads of the country, horse, cable, and electric, could not have cost, including equipment, over \$110,000 per mile, but they are stocked and bonded up to about \$400,000; and the elevated roads in New York city, which cost less than \$17,000,000, are stocked and bonded for more than \$60,000,000.

Within the last twenty years many of the great manufacturing industries have merged themselves into corporations or associations, which are called trusts. These also are capitalized for at least three times their actual values.

My estimate of the total of these unwarrantable and dishonest over-issues of stocks and bonds is \$5,000,000,000. This constitutes an indirect mortgage upon the national products, industries, and labor of our whole country; and there is a constant struggle, against public welfare and prosperity, to extort from patrons and consumers prices which will pay interest and dividends upon these fraudulently-issued obligations. Corporate bonds are unknown to the laws of European countries. In those older civilizations all stock or debentures issued by railway corporations are sold for face or par value; and if any were issued by officials for less than the stated values, the officials issuing, or rather attempting to issue, them would be arrested for a crime, tried, convicted, and punished as felons.

One of the most facile means in the hands of avarice for cheating the poor and helpless is the "corporation and contractors' store." It is usually owned by corporations whose employees

are the only patrons, and the rule is to sell the poorest possible quality of supplies at the highest price obtainable. In many instances employees are given to understand that they are expected to trade at the company and contract stores, or, failing to do so, will be discharged. This oppressive method of cheating is not confined to any particular part of the country, but prevails, with varying degrees of malignancy, wherever under one management, either corporate, partnership, or individual, any considerable number of employees are assembled together. Since the close of the Civil War many thousands of ignorant blacks have been made the victims of this common and heartless swindle, which has absorbed their scant earnings. At the end of each month, year in and out, it has proved to their untrained minds an astonishing fact that the longer and the harder they worked the more they got in debt to their employers.

Avarice, once let loose, knows no limits, and never halts in its aggressive career. In the pursuit of gain, human life seems of very little consequence. Sham building is another evil that is clearly attributable to the greed of the capitalist; and the worst illustration of this particular evil is the sham American hotel, which is to be found in every part of the country; in the greatest abundance, however, west of Philadelphia. In southern Colorado, last summer, I saw one, large enough for a hundred and fifty guests, built entirely of pine boards and small scantling; no bricks, stone, or mortar was used, save possibly in the foundations. A fire started in the first story would consume such a building in thirty minutes, and few of the inmates located upon the floors above would escape. Certainly seven-tenths of the hotels in the United States have been erected with special reference to cheapness of construction rather than for the safety of guests. The motto of the hotel-builder is: Cover as much ground as possible; herd the greatest number of guests upon the smallest practicable space; and save expense by substituting sham for substance. The burning of a large hotel at Milwaukee a few years ago, and the later destruction of another at Syracuse, sufficiently prove the truth of these assertions.

The facts recited by a recent correspondent* of the *New York Times* will apply to a large majority of existing American hostel-

* T. V. Johnson, Jr.; letter of October 16, 1890.

ries. He says : " Apropos of the burning of the Leland House at Syracuse last night, I wish to call the attention of the public to a little incident which happened to me recently when visiting Syracuse. I met a gentleman of my acquaintance, an old resident of Syracuse, who asked me where I intended to stay. I told him at the Leland House, whereupon he said : ' If you have any regard for the safety of your life, do not by any means go to the Leland House. I watched that hotel all the time it was building, and there is not a brick partition in the whole house—nothing but wood and plaster. If it ever takes fire there will be a terrible loss of life.' " The moral of this story can be readily drawn by those who are interested.

In Europe the construction of public hotels is managed differently. The Grand and Continental, at Paris, the Langham, Grand, Victoria, Métropole, the Inns of Court, and the Avenue Hotel, in London, and others in Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg were erected with special reference to housing a large number of human beings in the safest manner possible. They are, in several instances, like great fortifications ; they are so solidly put together, the rooms and floors are so separated by bricks and mortar, that a fire could not spread beyond its original location.

Possibly the usual inflammable tinder-box American theatre is a still completer example of our sham building than the average hotel.

Look, again, at the unprecedented destruction of game upon our continent. It is chiefly caused by avarice. In the forests of the Northern and Eastern States the moose and deer are almost extinct, and the smaller quadrupeds, such as coons and gray, red, black, and flying squirrels, are rapidly passing away. In the West the bear and elk families are fast disappearing ; and the wanton slaughter of the great herds of North American bison forms one of the most discouraging chapters in the history of our cruelties. With the construction of the first railroad to the Pacific Ocean commenced this wholesale, indiscriminate destruction. While it lasted, accounts were often published in our newspapers of bison being shot by passengers from the windows of moving trains. In most instances they were wounded and left to die lingering and painful deaths. In this business many brutal Englishmen who " came out to America to shoot " took the lead ; but they soon found a numerous following among the callow snobs of our

large cities, who seem to exist only to imitate the follies, vices, and *outré* idiosyncracies of the idle English classes. With the great killing for pleasure came the greater butchering for profit ; and so persistently were both pursued that in less than four years the finest and most picturesque of all the animals peculiar to our continent was practically exterminated. During the years 1872-73-74 there were killed of the southern herd 3,698,130, and about 1,000,000 of the northern herd. Five millions of head killed in those years are about the figures of this unparalleled extermination. It is estimated that in the whole of North America there are now 635 American bison running wild and 456 in captivity, making a total of 1,091. These lamentable statistics stand for unprecedented savagery.

The beautiful feathered tribes, lovely songsters of the forest and meadows, have fared no better than their four-footed companions of the prairies and mountains. How well I remember the cheery spring songs incident to the New England meadow ! Having once heard them, who could ever forget the liquid jingling notes of the bobolink, the mellow song of the meadow lark, and the joyous trillings of the thrush ! The robin, the wren, the ground-sparrow, the woodpecker and jay, and scores of others which came to greet us with their merry chirps and calls with the advent of every spring, are also not to be forgotten. Now in their retreats we see the human biped with gun and bag, shooting down anything that can fly, if only it has a wing or a feather large enough to adorn the head of vanity. To the demands of commerce, the wantonness of the purchaser, and the ignorance of those to whom the power of making our laws is given, we may look for the certain destruction of every species of American song and plumage birds. Before the end of the next fifty years the brute of the bird-gun and bag may hang both upon his wall for want of use.

The proposed fish-culture, while an admirable measure, will be futile unless reënforced and sustained by legislation, which is in many States entirely lacking as yet. The drain upon the food fishes which inhabit the waters near the shores of our continent is very rapidly increasing, and bids fair, within a few years, unless some check is imposed by the Canadian and our own government, to exterminate several valuable species of table fish. The lobster is already fast diminishing, and will be the first to disappear ;

then the choicer groups of oysters will go ; then the runs of cod-fish will be greatly reduced, and the salmon will probably disappear. The destruction of the latter upon the western coast of a portion of our continent is without precedent. A Canadian official connected with the Bureau of Dominions Fisheries has estimated that in less than twenty years, at the present rate of catching for the canneries, the salmon will be seen no more in its present haunts. Of the many millions taken each season, a large proportion are too young and small for canning, but, instead of being put back in the water, a small piece is cut from the middle of the body and the rest of the fish is thrown away. The brook-trout of the mountain streams were nearly exterminated long ago, and their home disappeared with our forests, never to return until the latter are rehabilitated.

There is the same history with the seal. Lately an official statement has been made to our government to the effect that there are not more than 125,000 fur seals left in the waters of Alaska ; coupled with that statement was a recommendation that no more killing should be permitted for a period of seven years. Unless something is done by the united action of Russia, England, and our own government, there is danger of this most valuable of all fur-bearing animals becoming extinct in a very short time.

Yet we have not described thus far what is perhaps the most wanton and wicked cruelty of this sickening history. It is the wholesale and monstrous destruction of domestic stock west of the Mississippi River. It is a well-known fact that from the most northerly to the southern boundaries of our stock-ranges there is neither winter food nor shelter provided for horned cattle or sheep. The old of both kinds and the young are all herded together in the open fields, utterly unprotected from wind, rain, or snow ; there is neither shrub, bush, nor tree to shelter them. In many parts of the north and west covered by these feeding fields the snowfall is very deep, and often lasts from three to six weeks. While these snows cover the earth, the grazing stock is absolutely without food. The consequent mortality is appalling. According to official statistics from 12 to 15½ per cent. of the cattle and from 17 to 27½ per cent. of the sheep died from exposure to cold and want of food during the winter of 1889 and 1890. The total number of animals which thus perished is put down at

3,470,600 head. Doubtless the number was much larger, and 4,000,000 would be a more correct estimate of the total.

What a world of pain and suffering these figures suggest ! The poor animals relieved by death suffered, perhaps, no more than those that survived only to be mercilessly transported in overcrowded cars and slaughtered at the end of their journey. We may, in my belief, search in vain through all history for a parallel to match that gigantic scheme of cruelty. It continues from year to year, and has continued in an unbroken stream for more than a quarter of a century, without even a protest from lawmakers or the Christian clergy. Christianity, indeed, has neither preached nor practised humanity towards animals. But Sunday-school children by hundreds of thousands are taught what a terrible thing it is to break the Sabbath ; museum trustees tremble with pious horror at the suggestion of opening the doors leading to the collections on that day ; missionaries by the thousand are sent to the far east, west, and south to convert the kindly heathen from their evil ways—heathen who do not know the A B C of dishonesty and cruelty as practised in Christian America. And so we go on over the world, straining out the gnats of other people and swallowing whole herds of camels at our own doors.

When in Chicago a few months ago, I expressed to a leading citizen of that city a desire to see one of the great slaughtering establishments. With an expression clearly indicating his astonishment at my request, he advised me to avoid such a horrible sight, at the same time saying it was the most disgusting of all occupations, and, as to the slaughter of hogs, most unnecessarily cruel. In the West this industry is very much lauded, possibly for the profits it yields, and the packer is regarded as a representative man, typical of “ Western progress.”

But if all of our other much-lauded iniquities of avarice could be combined in one, the joint result would sink into insignificance when placed by the side of our two hundred and fifty years of cruel treatment of the Indians.

At Cambridge, in Massachusetts, in the year 1661 was published the first edition of Eliot’s translation of the New Testament into the Indian language ; and in 1663, in the same town, was issued his complete translation, into the same tongue, of the whole Bible.

In the autumn of 1676, near Dover, Captain Waldron, under

pretence of a sham fight, decoyed a considerable body of peaceful Indians to his camp, and, after depriving them of their arms by deceit, made them prisoners. Two hundred of the number thus captured were sent to the West Indies and sold for slaves, and the good pious Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, who had furnished them with Bibles for the benefit of their souls, reaped the financial results flowing from the sale of their bodies, and recorded themselves as the first of the American colonists to sell human beings into slavery.

From that time to the present, fraud, rapacity, and cruelty are the words which most fittingly describe our intercourse with these helpless wards of a powerful people. They have been habitually cheated in the quality and quantity of supplies furnished by the government under treaty stipulations. Solemn treaties made with them to-day are broken to-morrow, in the interest of fraud. Indian agents very often are of the spoilsman-politician class, who ally themselves with dishonest contractors for the purpose of promoting schemes to plunder their charges; and often Indians have been provoked—exasperated—to the commission of an offence by unthrifty whites, who would seize such an event as an excuse for an Indian war; their object being the assembling, in a certain non-prosperous locality, of a considerable body of troops, necessitating large expenditures of government moneys. These wretches would burn down a city to roast a pig. Various Indian tribes were concentrated upon reservations, but the cheating continued at the agencies; and now the scheming white settler and the railroad sharp, in the “interest of progress and civilization,” declare that the Indians are not entitled to their own, and are bringing to bear upon Congress and Federal officials all the varieties of influence which accomplished rascality can invent to drive them from the rightful possessions.

The late General Harney probably knew as much of the character of the North American Indians as any man that ever lived. His active intercourse with them covered a period of over forty years. He used to say of the savage Indians, before they were contaminated by contact with the whites, that they were the most honest and truthful people he had ever known. He had never caught one in an untruth, and was sure they did not know how to lie. These views were emphatically confirmed by the late General Wool, who used to add that the Indian agents were all thieves.

General Albert Pike, another friend of the Indian, and a believer in the natural nobility of his character, recently died in Washington. He wrote, October 2, 1890 :

"I have had much to do with several Indian tribes. I have known a great many of their chiefs ; have been counsel for two of the civilized tribes against the United States ; have commanded their troops ; acted as superintendent, and made treaties as commissioner of the Confederate States ; met the five civilized tribes, the Osages, Quapaws, Senecas and Shawnees, the Comanches and Caiawos, Caddos, Aiouais, Kichois, Toncawes, Tawaihâst, Huecos, and Tâwâcâros, and have known many Delawares, Shawânôs, and Skekapos. I think they are the most honest and truthful people in the world, and the most confiding when they give their confidence at all. Not in one instance did those with whom I made treaties ask any change that was not right and fair ; and whatever my decision was, it was acquiesced in by all and accepted with perfect contentment. I never knew a claim made to property by any of them, or a claim for compensation preferred, that was not just and reasonable. All the tribes with which I made treaties kept them to the letter and in spirit, in perfect good faith. Up to that [my] time no treaty had ever done complete justice to any Indian tribe. Almost invariably the Indians were tricked and deceived by the whites, their just claims cut down, and most shamefully unjust clauses against them allowed and enforced.

"General Sam Houston said to me once that the United States had never made a treaty with the Indians which they did not deliberately violate ; and that was true. All Indians are not alike. The Apaches, it was always said, were treacherous and faithless. The Navajos were neither, but truthful, upright, and honest, and they have been plundered without compunction or shame.

"In my opinion, there has seldom been an Indian war or outbreak that was not caused by violating a treaty or other gross bad faith or wrong dealing on the part of our government or people. For fifty years an invisible line divided the people of Arkansas from the Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws ; and in all that long time no complaint was made by the Indians against the whites or whites against Indians."

The foregoing is the testimony of an intelligent and disinterested witness of great experience. His estimate of the Indian character is fully sustained by Canadian officials who have, from time to time, had control of the Indian tribes of that country ; and, to our everlasting shame, the experience just on the north side of our border proves our iniquity in dealing with our Indians. There, humanity and good faith have dictated the rule of action in dealing with them, and the result is that Canada has never an Indian war, an uprising, or any serious trouble with a single tribe.

On December 3 of last year, the United States Senate discussed a resolution to furnish arms and ammunition to the inhabitants

of North and South Dakota, to enable them to defend themselves against attacks that might be made upon them by the Indians then assembled at Pine Ridge. While debating the resolution Senator Voorhees, of Indiana, made a strong plea for better treatment. His arraignment of the government was unanswerable and effective. Among his remarks occurs the following pathetic appeal :

"I shall not oppose the passage of this resolution, and I shall not vote against the issuance of these arms to the people ; but I cannot let it pass, with the feelings I entertain in regard to the administration of our Indian affairs, without a word.

"If the proposition were to issue 100,000 rations and more to the starving Indians, it would be more consistent with Christian civilization than the policy we are now pursuing. When a major-general of the War Department is publicly interviewed and publishes that the Indians are driven to revolt—rebellion, if you please to call it—and to the savagery of the Indian warfare by starvation, it becomes an inexpressible crime, in my judgment, on the part of this government to stand silently by and do nothing except to furnish arms. General Miles has stated to the public, and to me before he did to the public, that these Indians are being starved into hostility, and that they prefer to die fighting to being starved to death.

"I look upon the policy which has been pursued by the administration of Indian affairs as a crime revolting to man and God. I look upon the present outbreak, or the threatened outbreak,—which will bring not merely the destruction of the Indians, but will bathe the snows of the northwest crimson with the blood of our brave soldiers and officers,—as something revolting in the extreme. Instead of sitting here debating election bills and force bills, and providing for the issuance of arms to the States in the northwest, we should be hurrying, anxiously and eagerly, to provide for the feeding of these starving people. General Miles says they have been hungry for the last two years ; that they are devoured with hunger, wretched, and perfectly desperate, and would rather die with arms in their hands than with empty stomachs.

"They have no newspapers. Their privations and griefs and sufferings cannot be made known. They have been suffering in silence there for years, while guilt is somewhere."

It is probably true that the North American Indians are not the superior beings described by the witness cited ; but what they were or are matters very little. If they were as bad as their worst enemies describe them to be, their imperfections of character would be no excuse for our faithlessness in dealing with them.

The point I desire to make in closing this account of a few of our shortcomings is this : The misdeeds described are perpetrated in the open light of day, and go on year after year without protest either from the Federal or State governments or from

any considerable portion of our people. One of the unwritten mottoes of our business morals seems to say in the plainest phraseology possible : "Successful wrong is right."

The general government finds no difficulty in punishing a counterfeiter who issues false money, be the amount ever so small, or a post-office clerk who takes a few dollars from a letter. But the man who is a power in politics, who steals public lands by the thousands of acres ; the schemer who robs the public treasury of great amounts of money, or the agent who yearly cheats the Indians out of scores of thousands of dollars, is beyond the reach of those who administer and execute our laws. Great knaves who succeed are respected and often admired. Little thieves are regarded as contemptible, and fill our prisons. But the big ones live in palaces, and are usually great powers in the communities in which they live.

Not long ago a French official, an expert in a special department, who had held over from the empire, complained to a friend that he was compelled to employ twenty clerks to do the work done by four under the empire. He was asked if he knew of any reason for the change, and answered : "It is the republic." "But why do you not prevent this abuse ? You are the head of the bureau, and have the power." "Yes, I know I have the power ; but I have been in this position for more than thirty years, and am now too old to learn another occupation ; and I *must* make places for the friends of the deputies." And so it is here. The republic and the friends of the deputies of the people must be favored. Neither the republic nor separate States hinder or check the offences of individuals of political importance, whose crimes are against the property of the people, or of others whose deeds of plundering and cruelty result in considerable profits.

The influence of these offences against civilization is far-reaching and destructive. The fact that a considerable number of individuals obtain great wealth by dishonest schemes and cruel practices is of little moment when compared with the effect their financial successes produce upon particular communities and the country at large. They have established a national standard, and now only one kind of success is acknowledged. Morality has no market value. High character is impracticable, and intellectual achievement pays no dividends. These qualities count for very little in the estimation of the public when compared with the glory of great possessions.

The ownership of millions, no matter how obtained, constitutes a theme of almost national admiration; and if they were stolen outright and their possessor is out of prison, the homage would be about the same. The motto is: "We worship the millions in hand, and no questions asked."

Is it not time that there should be an awakening ?

RUSH C. HAWKINS.